583 The bride price (taggalt) to be paid by the bridegroom-to-be
[584 is then set. It is usually seven camels among the Imochar and
565] less among the Imrad, where it may be made up of camels, goats, or sheep. Asses are never given. This bride price may be paid all at once or in installments. It becomes the property of the parents of the girl; she, in turn, may be given a dowry by them.

593 In marriage (addoubâl) the woman retains free control of her
[562] property and in no way meets household expenses. These expenses
[421] fall entirely on the husband. By this system, therefore, the woman's fortune grows rapidly, while the man's remains stationary or decreases.

584 As soon as the bride price is settled, the date is set for the marriage, sometimes a few days after the request, other times
[184] a year later or even two years if the girl is very young. The latter custom is particularly in use in Sudanese tribes, however.

●585 The marriage festivities take place in the girl's camp, and the marriage is consummated only a week later. The brothers and parents of the fiancé come to the camp of the girl's parents, where they are entertained and given a sumptuous meal. During the seven days before the marriage is consummated, the fiancé does not have the right to come to the camp in daylight. He then takes shelter in a tent apart, where his friends keep him company. During this entire period he bears the name of anesdiben.

[536] The entertainment which accompanies the marriage festivities consists of a fantasia executed by meharists who pass back and forth in groups of two or four in front of the women,
[533] among whom the fiancée is sitting. The women play the tambourine and violin accompanied by /292/ songs. In the Ahaggar the marriage song is played to the musical rhythm of
[174] "aliouen," that is, the olive trees. This custom, according to Dr. Vermale, is a trace of the ancient pagan influence, where the olive tree was the tree dedicated to the goddess of love. (1)

1. Vermale, op. cit., p. 175.

585 342 A new tent is prepared with all the accessories -- mats, cords, tent stakes -- also new. Inside on the left side is built a little sand mound, oval in shape, on which the consummation is to take place. Afterward, when the camp is forced to move, this edifice is respected and stays in place for several months.

585 [533] On the seventh day, the girl's father has the marriage confirmed by a marabout. Then, in the evening the fiancée, who has stayed hidden all day at the home of a relative, is led amidst a procession of women playing tambourines to the nuptial tent, where the young man has preceded her.

The next day the young people gather in the tent of the newlyweds, as they do during the days of festivity which follow the marriage. This meeting is called tigedelsatin.

591 [171] The newlyweds live in the camp of the girl's parents for a year. This institution of "service time" /temps de service/ is mentioned on several occasions in the Old Testament and was practiced by the Hebrews. It means that the fiancé must live with his future family, or quite near it, for a temporary or permanent period of time. This custom results in temporarily restricting the [593] husband's authority and assuring that they become acquainted and that the young wife is well treated.

587 591 If the bride has already been married, she leaves for her husband's camp on the seventh day, mounted on a camel and accompanied by her friends and her servants.

585 591 In the first case, new festivities are held a year later. The men and women belonging to the husband's camp go one evening to the bride's camp and simulate an armed abduction. The meharists who have stealthily approached then rush into the midst of the tents and utter war cries, answered by the cries of terror of the camp women. They surround the tent of the young wife and claim her as belonging henceforth to their family.

[492] /293/ This is the occasion for new gastronomic flights, and the next evening the young woman, wrapped in a big white shawl,

accompanied by her women relatives mounted on asses, leaves, followed by the men on camel back, for her new home. There she is received by the chief and the old women.

While the married couple take refuge in their tent, the company carouses and dances. The festivities begin at sunset and do not end until dawn the next day, when all those present are exhausted.

The young women is then a member of her new family, which she will leave only in case of divorce or the death of her husband. In the meantime, she does not have the right to go visit her parents, but they may come to her camp.

Tuareg women keep a great deal of independence in marriage. It is hard to tell whether they are faithful wives or whether they take advantage of their husbands' often prolonged absences to misbehave. According to some (Duveyrier) their conduct is exemplary; according to others (de Foucauld, Vermale) they leave much to be desired, and the wives continue to practice the light mores learned at the ahal. "Their unique preoccupation," says Dr. Vermale, "is love; having lovers is their only aim." It is certain that former lovers from the lovers' meetings continue to come visit the married women and to praise their charms in the ahal. But it must be explained that the husbands do not show jealousy, which would be in the worst taste, and that this courting seems quite Platonic. It is very difficult to ask questions on this subject, for the Tuareg are careful of their wives' reputations and maintain that they are above reproach.

As for the men, their conduct is proper in their camps, although some do not hesitate to make use of their women slaves. But when they go on caravans and arrive in the centers far from their country, they give free rein to their passion which a long abstinence has made more impetuous.

Adultery (aker) of women is often punished by death. The man does justice himself without anyone thinking to reproach him, killing the guilty parties by his own hand.

The men leave, the women go back into the tents, but the fortunate ones who have succeeded by means of assiduous courtship to touch the heart of their love, will soon come back secretly or will go to the place which has been appointed for them. Let us draw a veil!...

One might wonder what can become of the virtue of young girls with such customs. Almost always it has gone up in the air. But a Tuareg will not pay attention to this detail when it is a matter of getting married. He knows with what to be content: he has often profited by it. It is all the same to him.

The ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages among the Tuareg. Marriage requires expenditures upon which one does not decide until one has been able to acquire a little means, and that is why it is not unusual among the Tuareg to see men marry at the age of forty. With all he finds to entertain him, the Tuareg does not feel the need to get married. This does not mean that many do not marry around twenty-five, but in general a man marries quite late.

Farther on, in the little collection of songs, will appear the qualities which a man must have in order to succeed at the ahal, as well as the kind of songs which are sung there. /Not translated./ /11/

Chapter V

The Role of the Woman in Tuareg Society

At every step one sees the influence of the woman in Tuareg society. In Tuareg history, the inheritance, the life, the thought, and the behavior, everywhere her influence is felt.

In the matter of history, it is from her that the Tuareg says he is descended. Thus the nobles of the Ahaggar will tell

their permission asked, even those who are far away. It would be very bad to marry a young girl without the knowledge of one of the members of her family. 584

Since a girl usually marries at twenty to twenty-five years, she is consulted. Even if she is a virgin and, as such, subject to parental authority according to Moslem law, she is usually not forced to marry against her will. If the case arises, she has only to refuse herself to her husband, and he does not insist but sends her back to her parents. [582]

Just as among the Arabs, a woman who has already been married must give her consent. [587]

Chapter VII

Marriage

Marriage, "adouben" ⵜⴰⴷⵓⴱⵏ or "tedlout" ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵜ has some quite curious features. 585

The proposal of marriage has been accepted. The day of the wedding has been set. If a quite influential noble is getting married, the wedding /15/ will have many guests. If it is an "amr'id" (serf), the celebration will be much simpler and more private, but the ceremonies and songs will be the same. [554]

The men guests, mounted on their best meharis, arrayed in their most beautiful clothes and finest arms, arrive at the bride's camp where the wedding is to take place. The women go to the bride's home with their "imz'aden" (violins) and their "tobol" (drums).

If the women are poor they go there by donkey; if they are rich they arrive by mehari, in their saddles which are shaped like sedan chairs and of which we will find a description below. [492 556 562]

The celebration begins about one o'clock in the afternoon. The men saddle their meharis and the camel-back games, "iloudjan foull imnas" ⵉⵍⵓⴷⵊⴰⵏ ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵎⵏⴰⵙ , will begin. The women gather, beat their tobol, sing and play the amz'ad to excite the riders. The latter, in groups of two or more, abandon themselves to a wild race on their meharis, which they throw into a gallop.

During this time the bride, hidden at the home of her maternal aunt or a relative on the maternal side, must veil her eyes and not watch the games. If by mischance she should look at one of the riders, he would fall, and there would be an accident.

As to the groom, he does not take part in the games. Mounted on a white mehari, "ebidedj" ⴰⴱⵉⴷⴻⵊ , he is present beside one of his friends, but he must remain impassive, his face carefully veiled.

The games last until sunset.

At this point two "tolbas" and two friends of the groom go to find the bride's father, if she is still a virgin, or the woman herself if she has already been married, to ask him or her to name a representative. The groom is also asked to name his representative.

These two representatives meet with the tolbas and the friends, and the marriage is contracted. It is at this time that the bride price, /16/ "tagalt" ⵜⴳⴰⵍⵜ , is set. For nobles it consists, as a rule, of seven camels; for imr'ad it may consist, depending on their means, of one camel or several sheep or goats. The groom pays part of the bride price: one or two camels if he is a noble; three or four sheep if he is an amr'id and if he is not rich; the rest he owes. The animals which have been paid have their throats cut and provide the wedding feast. Then the "fatiha" (first sura of the Koran) is read to call divine blessing on the newlyweds.

After the contract the women meet, the amz'ad is played for a moment, but the bed of the newlyweds must be prepared.

The women get up and make a sort of mattress of sand or earth, 585
which is called "adebel" ⵍⵍ ⵜⴰⵎⴰⵡⴰⵙⵜ and which is covered with
a haïk. Over it will be set the skin tent on two wooden arches,
"idjedjan" ⵉⵊⵊⵉⵊⵏ , and the usual pegs.

But at this point the men intervene and seize the tent
cover. Two on one side and two on the other, they throw it [777]
back and forth three times, calling "Saoula iaoulit (throw and
send back)." This brings good fortune.

Then the tent is finally set up. The men lead the groom
to the tent. He is made to go around it three times; then he [777]
enters, taking care to put his right foot in first, again because
this brings good fortune.

The groom is in the tent with his friends. The women 585
then accompany the bride while singing: 533
539

"Bismillaten ar essa .ⴱⵉⵙⵎⵉⵍⵍⴰⵜⵏ ⴰⵔ ⴰⵙⵙⴰ
"Se iz'ar isem n yalla .ⵙⴻ ⵉⵣⵄⴰⵔ ⵉⵙⵎ ⵏ ⵢⴰⵍⵍⴰ
"Foull ilik ner' as tedoua".ⴼⵓⵍ ⵉⵍⵉⴽ ⵏⴻⵔⵄ ⴰⵙ ⵜⴻⴷⵓⴰ

which means:

"In the name of God on them up to seven times,
"Preceding the name of God,
"On our daughter who left in the evening (for her
husbands's home)." /17/

A few meters from the tent the son of the bride's maternal 585
aunt comes forward and wants to hold the bride back, telling 431
her: "I will not let you leave before receiving my gift, my
sandals. Aouid ir'atimen (give me my sandals)." The groom
or his friends then pass him a pair of sandals which were set
aside for this purpose or, lacking these, another gift.

Then the women in chorus ask questions to which the men 585
reply in chorus: 533
539

Women's chorus:

Nellouz ⵏⵍⵍⵓⵣ We are hungry.

Men's chorus:

Atekchimet ⵜⴰⵜⴽⵛⵉⵎⵜ You will eat.

Women's chorus:

Ner'loul ⵏⵔⵄⵍⵓⵍ We are naked.

Men's chorus:

Atelsimet ⵜⵜⴰⵍⵙⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be clothed.

Women's chorus:

Nerdjih ⵏⵔⴷⵊⵉⵀ We are afoot.

Men's chorus

Atar'ermet ⵜⵜⴰⵔⵔⵉⵎⵉⵜ You will be mounted.

Then the bride and the women, addressing the groom, sing these two lines:

Outterir' inelli n isakan ⵓⵜⵜⵔⵔⵉ ⵉⵏⴰⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⵉⵙⴰⴽⴰⵏ

Essoufeq inelli n foudan ⵙⵙⵓⴼⵖ ⵉⵏⴰⵍⵍⵉ ⵏ ⴼⵓⴷⴰⵏ

"I do not want any bechna (carried by) young camels.

"I prefer bechna (carried by) strong and solid camels, " meaning by this that she expects of her husband the deeds of a strong, brave man and not the behavior of a child. /18/

Then the bride enters the tent, and the guests withdraw and go to feast.

For seven days the groom's food is provided by the bride's relatives. During this time the newlyweds do not leave their tent, but people go there to entertain and visit them.

Custom decrees that the newly weds live beside the wife's parents for a year in order to give her time to get used to separation from them, which they call "az'alaï" ⴰⵣⵄⴰⵍⴰⵢ (from the verb "ez'li" ⵣⵄⵍⵉ , to separate).

Monogamy is the absolute rule.

We have said that the ahal is one of the reasons for late marriages. Another reason lies in the fact that many Tuareg are satisfied with Negro concubines.

Chapter VIII

Divorce

Divorce, in Tamashek "tellef" ⵜⴰⵍⵍⴰⴼⵜ or "oulouf" ⵓⵍⵓⴼ (from the verb "ellef" ⵍⵍⴼ , to divorce).

584 /143 cont./ The day comes, rather late, toward the age of 25 generally, when the Targui thinks of getting married. He gets a member of his family to make the proposal. The messenger says to the /144/ father of the girl: "I would like a tent and an asaber." The father understands that his daughter is being asked in marriage by means of this metaphor. "Tidjera-ouet," he replies, to give his consent. Then begins the discussion of the bride price the suitor must give to the fiancée and of the amount of the gifts to the family. There is a scale of bride prices to be paid to the women, which vary according to the tribes they belong to.

To take a Kel Rela girl, seven female camels must be given to the young bride; a Dag Rali must receive three female camels; the other imrad get only one. The husband must furnish the tent. On the day of the marriage, a taleb /scribe/ or, in the absence of a taleb, the chief of the tribe records the husband's gifts, which are not necessarily made but which he recognizes as being owed.

585 Everything being in order, the marriage and the date of the ceremony are announced. An enormous meal, for which a camel and numerous goats have been slaughtered, is served to the guests. Tendi and ilougan continue without interruption.

At the spot where the young couple's tent will be put up, a large pile of sand is prepared. A woman of the bride's family sits on it, holding a club in her hands, then, lowering her head, rests her forehead on her joined hands. Two men take the half-rolled tent and throw it over the seated woman three times.

During the whole day, the bride-to-be stays in her parents' tent; the bridegroom talks to the old men of the camp and does not participate in the public merrymaking.

The tent of the future couple having been erected, the young man will spend a night in it alone, seated on the pile of sand, without sleeping; this tradition is particularly respected among the Kel Rela. The second night the girl will become

● 585 /144 cont./ his wife. Formerly there was a custom now lost: the pile of sand was kept in the tent for three nights, and the two spouses slept separated by the pile, custom saying: "The first night, this woman is your sister; the second, she is your mother; the third, she is your mother-in-law; the fourth, she becomes your wife." And the pile of sand was removed.

/145/ Before entering the nuptial tent, the husband must walk around it three times, and the young woman must do the same. She is led to her husband's tent by a group of women from her family. Along the path leading to the tent, the Tuareg women sing traditional refrains:

"Thanks to God, my daughter leaves me this night."
The mother-in-law greets her son-in-law, saying to him: "Offer beautiful things to my daughter so that the shadow that will protect her will be cast by silk. Of the ten camels of her bride price, one has a white head; have her mount the gentlest one, and all her family will gaze on her."

Upon approaching the young couple's tent, the train of women comes to the gathering of men who are talking to the husband. The women then sing: "Thanks to God, and thanks to him before he was even named." The girl's mother greets her son-in-law. "Men, let us pass, stand aside, or else we shall push you and you will fall down, for we possess the greatest force that can be imagined."

The men having withdrawn a little, the young woman gets ready to pass over the threshold of her tent; one of her relatives appears suddenly, takouba /sword/ in hand, and announces: "You will not go in that tent." The young woman must then give her naïls /sandals/ to the interrupter in order to finally acquire the right to be a wife.

Up until about midnight numerous friends stay to talk to the young married couple.

[591] The new husband must remain in his wife's camp a rather long time before he is able to move his tent at will or to take his wife to his parents' camp.

585 /145 cont./ Some tribes, in particular the Issakamaren, having adopted many Arab customs, observe the following custom on the day after the marriage: the husband who has not found his wife to be a virgin during the meal breaks the bone of a leg of meat, eats the marrow, blows through the inside, then sticks the two broken pieces in the couscous. In this way everyone knows the affront he has suffered. Later in life, when his wife becomes disagreeable, he will put his fist before his mouth and blow between the fingers, imitating his gesture of the first day. The woman, ashamed, will stop her recriminations. Following another custom less and less /146/ in use, the woman who has found her husband lacking in virility during the wedding night will crown him with her alechou /shawl/, thus showing to the world the impotence of her husband by considering him to be like a woman.

593 562 The woman holds a privileged position in Tuareg society. It is customary to say that the reason for this must lie in the matriarchal organization of the tribes.

Among the Tuareg today matriarchy survives only in a very attenuated form due to the presence of Islam. It must be noted that the woman is absolute mistress in the tent; she gives the orders to the children and the Negroes, and she organizes the daily life; but outside the tent the man commands; he decides on the camp moves, the departures of the caravans, the commercial transactions. The woman's opinion is always taken into consideration; she is guardian of the traditions, [611] and, if she does not possess what we may call civil rights, it is she who transmits them: a Targui will be a noble if his mother is a noble. The right of eligibility to the amenokalat /chiefship of the confederation of tribes/ is given by the women who are directly descended in the maternal line from the ancestor Kella. This transmission of rights by the women constitutes the originality of Tuareg society.

837 Powerful in her home, lived by her husband, respected, the young wife has every chance to be happy. It is rare that

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82a. Tuareg performing the ceremonial camel-ride on the first wedding day. The women stand in the shade of the *ofoqay* acacia and sing and drum while the men ride around them two by two. Southern Ayr, *Iyawdiken*.

Boys and girls may play together, but there is a tendency for them to separate in their games. Boy-games centre round camels, while the games of girls centre round the family life of the tent and certain domestic tasks. But though camels are never tended by women, girls also make camel figures from cotton stuffed with hay, though they do not make figures to represent goats and donkeys which among nomads are connected with women and tended by them. The emphasis on camels in girl's games is due to the fact that camels have important functions in social life as described briefly below.

Tuareg initiation consists in the adoption of the veil by young men, and a similar piece of cotton used as a head-cloth by young women. The veil is adopted by men when 16–18 years old, the head-cloth by women somewhat earlier shortly after the first menstruation, or at marriage. At initiation the young man is presented with a sword, and if he does not already possess a riding camel with a saddle it will be given him on this occasion by his father, perhaps by his mother's brother. The young man is now a warrior and a camel man, and he will take part in nightly gatherings of young people of both sexes to sing and make music. These nightly gatherings are very often followed by love-making, and the riding camel and the ability of the young man as a rider play a great part for his success in love. The beauty of the riding camel, its saddle gear, and the way it is ridden are all to some extent considered qualities of the rider. Thus when women at nightly gatherings praise young men in their songs they will also praise the riding camels. And when a girl likes a young man she will present him with coloured skin bags, reins, embroidered saddle clothes, and similar objects to be used as ornaments for his riding camel.

In a ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* (*ilugan* in Ayr), which is performed at weddings and certain other feasts, the young men have a particular opportunity to display the beauty of their camels and their own ability as riders. The ride takes place not far from the wedding tent on a level sandy place where the women gather to sing and drum, while the men dressed in their finest clothes ride their ornamented camels to and fro past the women, who praise the beautiful camels and the skilled riders by their songs, their music, and by shrill cheers. In this ceremonial ride the emphasize is not so much on such

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

Fig. 82b. Cf. text Fig. 82a.

qualities as strength and speed, but rather on elegance and sublimity. The riders sit straight in the saddles without watching the crowd of women, and the camels are ridden at a gentle trot (generally that known as *senat-senat*; cf. p. 99) with their heads drawn back. In this way the men may also ride their animals round the women in a circle as I have seen in Ayr (cf. Fig. 82).

Camels have important social functions among the Tuareg who take an interest in these animals far beyond their practical value. It may perhaps be useful to compare Tuareg interest in camels with Nuer interest in cattle so brilliantly described by Evans-Pritchard. Nuer caress their animals, and there is a tendency for human beings and cattle to form, so to speak, a single community (Evans-Pritchard 1940, p. 16–50). This is not exactly true of Tuareg and camels. The Tuareg do not pat their camels which will not respond to caressing, and they do not live in very close contact with their animals, most of which frequently graze far away from the camp under the supervision of one or two herdsmen. But the Tuareg nevertheless have much the same feeling towards camels as Nuer have towards their cattle. They are very fond of their animals. They may abstain from camel's flesh because they are fond of camels and would feel very sick at heart when eating them. But though the Tuareg are fond of camels as such, they are delighted particularly at the sight of a very fine camel (*akemhur*; Ahaggar) and may even speak disparagingly of a badly built animal (*amugey*; Ahaggar). Fine camels add to the prestige of a man, while too many animals of poor build may even harm his reputation. When girls and young women praise camel-riders in their songs they praise those mounted on fine and richly-decorated animals. When camels are mentioned in poetry this may also be done as praise to their owners, as in a poem composed in honour of noble Tuareg of the *Uraɣen* (*Kel Ajjer*) of whom it is said that "their pack-camels have feet as large as a drum, and the loads they carry are like the crests of mountains" (Hanoteau 1896, p. 218). Such reference to pack-camels, however, seems to be rare in Tuareg poetry, while riding camels are frequently mentioned in connection with warfare and love. Riding camels have much the same esteemed position as had horses in Medieval Europe. Tuareg interest in camels is particularly focused on riding camels and there is a tendency towards identification

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Tent skins derive from domestic animals or from game animals. In older literature one can find a reference to Tuareg tents made of a sheet of camel skin (cf. Denham & Clapperton 1826, p. L). However, we have already seen that the Tuareg do not tan camel hides and they are not used for tent sheets. The Northern Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, zebu-calves, barbary sheep, antelope, and gazelle. Goat skin is most commonly used, skin of barbary sheep is considered the very best type of tent skin, while gazelle skin is rarely employed as it is very thin. According to Lhote, the *Kel Adrar* Tuareg generally use the skin of barbary sheep (Lhote 1947a, p. 108). The Ayr Tuareg use the skin of goats, sheep, and zebus. It is most possible that some Tuareg also use skin of game animals, but most Ayr Tuareg engage very little in hunting, though barbary sheep are very common in certain parts of the Massif. In the southern plains of the *Iwllemmeden* there are no barbary sheep. According to Nicolas, the *Iwllemmeden Kel Dennek* use for their tents the skin of sheep, goats, gazelle, and sometimes even the skin of ostriches, but they do not use zebu skin which becomes very hard and shrinks when heavily moistened during the rainy season (Nicolas 1938, p. 54 & 1950a, p. 155). The *Iwllemmeden* and their *Bélla* of the Ayoru region use the skin of goats and sheep for tent-sheets.

Tent skins are prepared in the same way as skins used for transportation bags, dress articles, and the like. They are depilated and tanned according to the methods described on p. 275 ff. After tanning they are treated with butter, and are thereupon soaked to be rubbed and coloured with red ochre, these treatments making the skins impervious to water. A tent sheet is always made of several pieces of skin which are sewn together with leather thread by means of a little awl known as *tistent* (Ahaggar), or *éstan* (Ayr). The edges where the skins have to be sewn are made even with a knife, while the outer edges of the sheet are left largely unfashioned so that the circumference of the sheet is of very irregular shape with protruding patches of leg or neck skin. These patches of skin frequently serve for the attachment of the cords by means of which the sheet is suspended. When two pieces of skin are sewn together a narrow leather strip is inserted between their edges before sewing. Loose ends of leather thread hang down from the inner side of the sheet to serve as a kind of decoration, and in Ahaggar the tents are also frequently ornamented with hanging patches of leather with a carved decoration (cf. Fig. 182). On the whole the Tuareg of Ahaggar take a great interest in their tents. They like to have richly-decorated dwellings, and when a tent is made for a newly-married couple, the women do their outmost to make the sheet very beautiful. These aesthetic feelings seem to be unknown in regard to other types of dwelling used among the Tuareg, including the mat tent, and I think that they are responsible for some Tuareg using skin tents even when other dwelling types would be more suitable. I believe this to be true, the more so as the skin tent among the Northern Tuareg plays a great part in the wedding ceremony, which is called *ihen*, that is "a tent".

It is evident that the number of skins to be used for a sheet greatly varies; if a sheet is made from goat skins it may be estimated that a tent of normal size in Ahaggar comprises about 35–40 skins, but very large tents with sheets of 60–80 skins are found among rich noble Tuareg and also in the *Dag Rali* tribe. A tent from Ahaggar now in the Ethnographical Collection of the National Museum in Copenhagen has a sheet sewn together from a great many skin patches, and it measures 4.00 × 3.85 metres (N.M., no. G.1; cf. Feilberg 1944, p. 139). This is perhaps to be considered a normal size of skin tents among the Ahaggar Tuareg, though the sheet is generally somewhat more rectangular in

7:Nicolaisen E-5 (1951-1962) 1963 MS25 Tuareg MS25

582 and the argument that cross-cousin marriage tends to prevent marital conflict is apparently a valid one. I return to his later, and now pass to the last argument that cross-cousin marriage possesses economic functions. To examine this point let us first consider the obligations of two families who intermarry.

ECONOMIC OBLIGATIONS ON MARRIAGE IN AHAGGAR

602 (a) *Obligations of the groom and his family.*

583 (1) bride-wealth (*taggalt*) which varies according to the social class of the bride. For a noble woman and a woman of the *Ireǧenaten* tribe it is seven camels, while in most vassal tribes including the *Iseḳḳemaren* bride-wealth comprises only one young camel (*alegges*). In the *Dag Ṛali* tribe however two young camels constitute the traditional bride-price, while three camels are given at the marriage of a woman of the *Ibettenaten* tribe. In vassal tribes 25–30 goats can be given instead of one young camel. Bride-wealth is handed over to the bride's father, or, if the father is dead, normally to her elder brother. Bride-wealth animals belong to her father (or elder brother), but it is said that the offspring of bride-wealth animals should be given to the bride or to her children. On a man's first marriage bride-wealth animals are usually given by his father, but if he is divorced and wishes to remarry he will himself furnish the bride-wealth.

585 (2) a camel or a number of goats to be killed for wedding-food (*tardest*). In addition to what is given by the husband or his father, animals to be killed at a wedding may also be brought by visiting relatives.

(3) In noble tribes and among the *Ireǧenaten* the tent with its straw-mats are given by the husband and/or his relatives.

(4) Some time after marriage it is customary for the husband to give his wife a gift of animals according to his means – a few goats, one or two camels. This gift however remains in the husband's camp so that the animals serve the need of his household.

(5) It does not seem customary in Ahaggar for the groom to give his bride clothes and ornaments, though it is said that in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe the groom has to give his bride two silver bracelets known as *ihebǧan* (sing. *ahbeǧ*).

602 (b) *Obligations of the bride's family.*

583 To illustrate the obligations of the bride's family I list what is considered the proper outfit of the bride in the *Dag Ṛali* tribe as follows:—

1 skin tent (*éhakit*) with the necessary number of poles (cf. p. 364, Figs. 267 ff.).
2 tent mats (*isebran*, sing. *éseber*) plaited from the *afezu* grass (*Panicum turgidum*) (cf. Figs. 267–269).
3 large decorated skin-bags (*iṛerǧan*, sing. *arreǧ*) used for storing personal belongings in the tent.
1 *ahaǧa*, a large container made of untanned camel-hide and used mainly for tanning (Fig. 213).

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583 drum-chief *Agg-Elkhir*'s son, *Khejji*, gave twenty camels for his wife. In certain tribes living around Agadez bride-wealth is nowadays also paid in cash. At a man's first marriage bride-wealth is paid by his father and is given to the bride's father who can dispose of the camels at his discretion. In the *Kel Ferwan* group all bride-wealth must be handed over to the bride's father before marriage takes place.

(2) *tisrar*, that is a gift to the bride and a gift of food to her parents who arrange the wedding-feast. These gifts are given by the husband or his parents and comprise the following:—

[291] 15 metres of cotton for two outer skirts (sing. *téri*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for one under-skirt (*tesegbes*) (cf. p. 294).
3 metres of cotton for a woman's shirt (*aftek*) (cf. p. 293, Fig. 239a).
3 *ilechchan* (sing. *alechchu*), indigo-dyed pieces of cotton which serve as the headcloth (*adalil*) of a married woman (cf. p. 14, 293).
1–2 pairs of *iṛatimen* (sing. *éṛatem*), sandals of the *takalmi*-type (cf. p. 298, Fig. 242b).

[242] The amount of food to be given for the entertainment of wedding guests varies, but in general is estimated at 100–200 kgs millet (*énélé*), 10–15 litres of butter (*wiji*), and 5 litres of Sudanese honey (*tariwat*), plus an ox.

The gifts of cotton and food should be brought to the bride's father before marriage with the bride-wealth. The bride should not see the bride-wealth animals, nor should she see the gift of cotton until it has been made into her wedding clothes.

585 (3) The groom and his family have no obligations towards the bride and her family other than those mentioned above, but the groom is expected to give certain gifts to his wife after marriage:—

One gift is known as *timigint*. Before the bride is led into the wedding tent where the groom awaits her (cf. p. 474), the women who lead the veiled bride will claim a promise of *timigint* for the bride. On behalf of the groom one of his friends will promise to give the bride a gift – perhaps a camel – though there is no rule for the size of this gift. When the promise is given the women lead the bride into the tent. It is said that the groom is never forced later to give the *timigint* gift promised.

Some time after marriage the groom is expected to give his wife certain silver ornaments, notably the following:—

[301] ***t'izabatin***, a pair of large ear-rings.
ténélét, a ring-formed pendant.
zakkat, the so-called Cross of Agadez, and the so-called Cross of Iferwan.
tadnet (perhaps not correctly spelled), a necklace.
térewt (pl. *téra*) ***ta n tejekkot***, a silver ornament attached to the hair braid at the back of the head.

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582 p. 168 ff.). I do not want to judge this theory as I have little personal knowledge of the North African
583 Arabs who practise marriage with a paternal cousin. However, the argument that one of the chief
[114] functions of the bride-wealth is the confirmation of the social position of the children of a marriage, seems also valid for bride-wealth customs among people who practise preferential paternal cousin marriage, for it is clear that should a man marry a father's brother's daughter she will not have to change her social group after marriage. Furthermore, the fathers of the groom and the bride are brothers who among North African Arabs may own livestock and other types of property in common.

T
582 Tuareg cross-cousin marriage is symetrical, but the very best cross-cousin to marry is the true
604 mother's brother's daughter. This would seem to agree with the very close relationship between a
613 man and his mother's brother of the same matrilineage. A man has succession rights after his mother's brother, and many Tuareg say that the relationship between sister's son and mother's brother is as close as that between father and son. A man should do his outmost to defend his mother's brother, and it is very likely that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter has as its chief function the reinforcement of the matrilineage. It can here be added that marriage with a mother's brother's daughter will not easily lead to quarrels between the families of the married couple, because the fathers of the groom and the bride are cross-cousins and/or brothers-in-law, and consequently there is an institutional joking relationship between them.

We should perhaps explain Tuareg marriage with a mother's brother's daughter in the light of its importance for the reinforcement and maintenance of the matrilineage which has important social functions in Tuareg society. However, this marriage type does not exempt the groom or his family from paying bride-wealth.

T
[171] It is interesting to note that among the South African Bantu, who give bride-wealth (*lobola*) at a marriage, the groom is expected to assist his parents-in-law whenever they need his help (Krige 1937,
T
606 p. 113). This is also so among the Tuareg who claim that parents-in-law and sons-in-law should always support each other even if they be in-laws of dissolved marriages from which bride-wealth has not been claimed back. Indeed, some Tuareg consider it a very good thing to have contracted several marriages and thus to have obtained many in-laws who are expected to assist their son-in-law when he needs their help.

T
582 Finally, I add the statement of some Ahaggar Tuareg that bride-wealth payment is often considered
583 less essential where a man has married a maternal cousin or her daughter because in that event husband and wife are maternal relatives who, in case maternal cousin marriage is practised within their families, may be closely related also in the paternal line.

T
585 Both in Ahaggar and in Ayr the marriage is ratified by representatives of the groom and the bride
[193] before an *Aneslem*, that is to say a marabut. This may take place on the first day of the wedding ceremony, but it may as well be done days, weeks, or even months before the wedding takes place. The parents of the groom and the bride may have the marriage ratified even though their children do not want to be married. The wedding ceremonies in Ahaggar and Ayr differ slightly, but they are no doubt functionally identical.

In Ahaggar the marriage ceremony is briefly as follows:—

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(1) The wedding is held close to the camp of the bride's family. A flat sandy place is selected for the ceremony. Relatives and guests from other tribes arrive at this place on the first day of the wedding feast. They are greeted by members of the bride's family, and are offered tea and food. Early in the afternoon the ceremonial ride termed *ilugan* is performed (cf. p. 104 f.). After darkness the guests gather at the wedding place to drum and sing, to play the violin, and slaves and certain vassals dance to the accompaniment of women, who sing and clap their hands. The party will continue in this way until about midnight when all music and singing ceases. – The ceremonial camel ride and the musical gatherings here described are not attended by the bride or the groom. At this juncture they are separated from each other in tents hidden from the wedding place and pitched in opposite directions. They sit in particular tents and both have their faces closely veiled. The groom wears several veils wrapped around his head and face allowing only a very narrow slit for the eyes. The bride is still more closely veiled by a piece of cotton around her head.

(2) When the guests have stopped making music shortly before midnight, preparations are made for the first ceremonial meeting of the bride and the groom at the sandy wedding place. Digging with potsherds, wooden and metal containers, and with their hands the women make a little sand-hill about one metre high and just big enough for two people to sit upon it. When this sand-hill, known as *adebel*, is erected, the wedding tent is brought to the ceremonial place with loud cheers, shrills, and drumming. The sheet of skin is to be suspended over the sand-hill, but before this is done a woman lies down upon the ceremonial hill with a pole in each of her hands. The tops of these poles she presses firmly against each other. While the woman lies thus, two men take up position on each side of the hill with the recumbent woman. They now throw the tent skin between them three times over the sand-hill and the woman. When this is done the tent is erected over the sand-hill in a very imperfect way the sheet resting upon the two poles buried in the ground in the front and upon a shorter pole at the back. The lower part of the skin-sheet is kept to the ground by means of sand and stones. A blanket (*ahwar*) is finally placed over the sand-hill, and most people now leave the wedding tent to fetch the groom and the bride.

(3) Shortly after the erection of the wedding tent the groom leaves his camp in the company of a great many young men. They lead the closely-veiled groom towards the wedding tent, and walk slowly, singing certain Koranic passages. Arrived at the ceremonial place the procession with the groom walks three times around the tent, keeping to the right, and the groom is then led into the tent where he sits down upon the sand-hill. The men squat around the tent to await the arrival of the bride. They talk now and then to the groom who does not reply, or does so in a very low voice.

(4) The bride comes to the wedding tent about half an hour or an hour later than the groom. She is led by a procession of young women, and she walks in the middle of the procession which proceeds with extremely small steps, giving the impression that it hardly moves at all. The young women of the procession lead the bride towards the tent with singing, drumming, and loud cheers and shrills. When they have arrived at the tent they walk around it with the bride three times, keeping to the left, and then stop before the entrance. They claim a pair of sandals for one of the bride's cross-cousins (cf. p. 443, 459); when the sandals have been handed over they lead the bride into the tent where she is placed upon the sand-hill behind the groom. The bride and the groom are thereupon left to themselves, while

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575 young people of both sexes begin to drum and sing at a short distance from the wedding tent. They do that not only to amuse themselves but also to pay homage to the couple to be married. They continue to sing and drum until shortly before sunrise, when everybody leaves the place. Shortly afterwards the groom and the bride leave the wedding tent to walk back to their individual tents situated in opposite directions of the wedding place.

(5) In the morning at about ten or eleven o'clock the wedding tent is taken down to be erected again in a normal way at a short distance from the first place it was pitched. Care is taken that the sand-hill is left untouched; it is never touched by anybody and in time is obliterated by the wind. When the wedding tent is re-erected it is put up correctly like a normal tent with the sheet attached to twelve poles around the structure, and is provided with mats which are drawn around the lower part of the tent. However, the interior arrangement differs from that of a normal tent in that a long and very flat sand-hill known as *tuf-adebel* is made; it is very low in comparison with the first sand-hill known as *adebel*. This low sand-hill serves as the sitting place for the married couple, and is covered with coloured blankets.

(6) The veiled groom comes to the tent in the morning just before midday. He is accompanied by young men, but he is not now led by them, but walks in front of the procession. He enters the tent and sits down upon the low sand-hill. Friends and relations gather around him in the tent, but he avoids talking to them, or, if he does, then only in a low voice.

(7) In the afternoon the wedding guests arrange the ceremonial camel ride (*ilugan*) in front of the wedding tent so that the ride can be seen by the groom.

(8) Before the ceremonial ride ends at darkness, the veiled bride is led to the tent where she is placed by the side of the groom on the low sand-hill.

(9) The wedding guests sing, drum, and dance the whole night in front of the wedding tent.

(10) The guests leave the wedding place the next morning to return to their camps. If they have no avoidance relationships with the married couple, they will go to the wedding tent to say good-bye before they leave. The wedding feast is now over.

(11) The newly-married couple remain in the tent for seven days in all, during which period they leave the tent only to releave nature and preferably after darkness.

591 (12) When the seven days' stay is over the bride remains in her father's camp for about one year, and traditionally her husband should stay with her for that period. However, he will usually stay only part of this period in his wife's camp, returning frequently to the camp of his father. If the husband stays in the wife's father's camp for a year he has no obligations towards the members of the [583] camp. There is no bride service.

585 Among the Ayr Tuareg a wedding is known as *éduben*, or as *ehen*, and these terms are identical with those used in Ahaggar. From the latter term we see that the tent plays an important part also in the wedding ceremony of the Ayr Tuareg, but there are ceremonial distinctions as will be seen from the following description:—

(1) On the first wedding day relatives and friends arrive at the wedding place at the camp of the bride's family. The wedding tent is already erected. This is done in the normal way with the exception that the entrance is at the narrow end turning southwards, while a normal tent is always entered from

[Text continues on p. 474]

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Fig. 297a–c. From a wedding ceremony.

a. A woman in front of the skin tent erected over the ceremonial sandhill (*adebel*) on which the couple to be married sit during the first wedding night.

b. The skin tent is removed from the ceremonial sandhill, which is left untouched.

c. The tent correctly erected with the married couple sitting upon the low sandhill (*ruf-adebel*). The groom sits to the left of the central tent post, the bride to the right. Both groom and bride are veiled. Ahaggar, the *Ihryawen Hada* tribe.

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585 the broad side turning westwards. Inside the tent there is nothing beyond the large bed (*tédabut*) covered with mats and blankets.

(2) The wedding guests perform the ceremonial camel-ride (*ilugan*) in the afternoon and continue to sing, make music, and dance throughout the night.

262 (3) The wedding feast continues the next day with the killing of an ox for the guests. On this day, early in the night (about nine o'clock), the groom comes to the wedding tent. He is closely veiled and walks in the middle of a large procession of men and some women. The procession walks slowly, the 533 women accompanying it shrilling and cheering. If the camp is situated close to Agadez the procession is led by professional musicians who on this occasion are on horseback. When the procession has arrived at the wedding tent the groom enters into it directly and without much formality, but does 564 so through the narrow end turning southwards. Some of his friends squat around him in the tent while a few blacksmiths drum and praise the groom in songs which also refer to the fact that the blacksmiths have arrived in order to transform the wedding into a great feast. When the groom has entered the tent most guests continue to dance and make music until about eleven o'clock, when the bride arrives.

(4) The bride is led towards the wedding tent by a procession of singing women who are not accompanied by musicians mounted on horses even if the camp is close to Agadez. The procession proceeds extremely slowly, and sometimes almost marks time. The women sing the praise of the veiled bride who walks in the middle of the procession behind a tall woman. The bride's hands are around the tall woman's waist, and she is hidden under a large piece of white cotton placed over the tall woman's shoulders and back. When the procession is close to the tent it is joined by many men and by the drumming blacksmiths who lead the procession to the wedding tent. Here the procession walks three times around the tent, stopping in front of the narrow entrance facing southwards. The women now claim the promise of a gift from the groom to his bride (cf. p. 462). When a gift has been promised the tall woman creeps into the tent with the bride clinging to her back. The bride is placed upon the bed together with the groom who is already sitting there, the mat at the southern end is drawn to and closed, and the bride and the groom are left alone. The wedding is now over, and the guests leave for their tents and camps.

(5) The bride and the groom now remain seven days in the tent. They leave it only to releave nature 591 and preferably after darkness. When this stay of seven days in the wedding tent is over, the newly-married couple immediately take up residence in the camp of the husband's father.

From the description of Tuareg wedding ceremonies above we see that they develop very slowly. This is particular so in Ahaggar, where the bride and the groom are brought together to be separated again before being finally united in the correctly erected tent. In Ayr the bride and the groom are brought together more directly, but do not meet until the second day of the wedding feast. They then have to enter the tent in an abnormal way – through the narrow southern end. The fact that the ceremony develops slowly and that the tent is not correctly erected are traits typical both of the Ahaggar and the Ayr Tuareg.

585 121 It is clear that the groom and the bride during the ceremony live so to speak outside the community. Tuareg wedding ceremonies are characteristic rites of passage and contain traits common to many

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initiation rites. Arnold van Gennep in his famous study on rites of passage long ago pointed out the universal occurrence of such rites including wedding ceremonies (van Gennep 1909). But it seems as if their functional position has never been described in great detail, so I shall now try to analyse Tuareg wedding ceremonies where the groom and the bride were cross-cousins as prescribed by traditional marriage customs. Such a marriage gives rise to important modifications of kinship behaviour as follows:—

(1) Until their marriage the groom and the bride had a joking relationship to one another. It seems as if this tends to stop before marriage when the groom and the bride have come to know each other well but even though joking may cease before marriage, the position of the two cross-cousins becomes entirely different once they have married. For though the two have almost the same rights, the wife is expected to show her husband great respect, and while the husband will always address his wife by her name this is not reciprocal. A wife cannot address her husband by his name, but must call him *amγar* which means "the old one" in a respectful sense. It is used as a designation for all elderly people to whom respectful behaviour is necessary, and is also a term for tribal chiefs (cf. p. 396). In Ayr a wife may also address her husband as *mai-gidd*, a word of Hausa origin, but with much the same meaning. The wife may also address her husband as the father of one of their children, e.g., *adda n Mokhammed*, that is "Mohammed's father". The wife's behaviour towards her husband should on the whole be very much like that of a person towards people of ascending generations. She is not expected to talk too much in her husband's company, and must not talk at all when strangers are visiting the camp. – One of the functions of the wedding ceremony is change of the free behaviour between partners into a respect relation. All Tuareg questioned about the matter have admitted that during the wedding ceremony they have felt almost "afraid" or "ashamed" towards the wife. Some of them say that though they already knew the bride extremely well sexually they did not cohabit with her during the seven days' stay in the wedding tent.

(2) The husband and the wife enter into a great many in-law relationships as the result of their marriage. To some of these in-laws joking has already been established owing to the cross-cousin relationship. To other brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, joking is adopted only after marriage. This of course is true of all brothers and sisters-in-law should husband and wife have no blood-relationship to each other. – The newly-married couple enters into an elaborate avoidance-relationship to their true and classificatory parents-in-law. Their position towards these relations before marriage was one of respect, which is now reinforced by avoidance. In Ayr the husband changes his joking relations with mother's brother's wife into avoidance. It seems as if avoidance relations established at a marriage partly explain the wedding ceremony, for the Tuareg say that a young and newly-married couple will sometimes stay in the wedding tent more than seven days on the grounds that they are afraid to emerge and meet the parents-in-law.

It seems as if the wedding ceremony in its whole arrangement corresponds well to the modification of kinship behaviour at a marriage. The dominating position of the husband is intimated by the fact that he comes first to the tent which is entered in a more direct way than is the case for the wife who comes later. It would seem as if the ceremony is less suited to marriages like those with a mother's sister's daughter or her daughter, as in such marriages the kinship behaviour of the spouses and in-

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laws do not change to a very great extent. There will then already be a relationship of respect between husband and wife, a respect relationship to brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law which continues unchanged, and in Ayr the relationship to the mother-in-law does not switch from joking into avoidance. Tuareg wedding ceremonies correspond functionally with the traditional preferential marriage with cross-cousins. But the wedding ceremonies described are strictly followed at all Tuareg marriages except in the case of important marabuts, who dispense with most ceremonial traits, allowing no public gathering with camel-riding and music, and the groom and the bride enter the wedding tent without formalities.

Kinship systems, rules of kinship behaviour, the payment of bride-wealth, and wedding rites seem to be functionally adapted to cross-cousin marriage. All this seems to hold for the Tuareg of Ahaggar and also for those of the *Kel Ferwan* drum-group in Ayr. However, we have also observed that there are certain differences in social organization in Ahaggar and Ayr. In both regions Koranic law is valid for inheritance. The rules of succession in Ayr have become predominantly patrilineal, but is matrilineal in Ahaggar. There is also little doubt that most *Kel Ferwan* Tuareg to-day follow patrilocal rules of residence. The Ayr Tuareg are predominantly patrilineal but have remnants of matrilineal traits. I note in this connection that some Ayr Tuareg also claim that it is preferable to practise the levirate and the sororate in the way that a widow can marry her deceased husband's younger brother, a widower his deceased wife's younger sister. They hold that this is adopted from Islamic rules.

In Ahaggar matrilineal rules still play a very great rôle as kinship terminology evinces for the term for "mother's brother" is used exclusively for people of the mother's family and mainly for such people of ascending generations who are matrilineally related to Ego – including very distant matrilineal kinsmen. We have also seen that tribal membership is ultimately matrilineally determined, and that matrilineal rules are valid for succession to territorial rights, for relations between noble Tuareg and vassals, and ultimately for residence.

Tuareg social organization has been submitted to change. Islamic influence has produced a predominantly patrilineal system among the Southern Tuareg, including the *Kel Geres* and the *Kel Ayr*, while among the Northern Tuareg matrilineal rules of succession and residence are still acknowledged.

It may perhaps seem rather odd that the Ayr Tuareg, like many Sudanese Tuareg, have been much influenced by the patrilineal rules of Islam in their social organization, while the Ahaggar Tuareg have been far less impressed by these rules in spite of having lived in intimate contact with Arabs for generations, adopting many Arab cultural traits which are unknown among the Ayr Tuareg. What is the reason for these distinctions in cultural change among the Tuareg of Ahaggar and Ayr? I believe that the answer may lie in the differences in political systems. In pre-European times there was in Ahaggar an intimate relationship between noble Tuareg and vassals within the drum-groups, several small noble families being linked with their individual groups of vassals. This relationship (*temazlayt*) was, as we have seen, predominantly an economic one, advantageous to both classes and not least to the noble Tuareg, who were much dependent upon their goat-breeding and caravan-trading vassals. There seem to be little doubt that, before the introduction of Islam, this relationship was organized on the basis of matrilineal rules. And it may perhaps have been very difficult to adopt patrilineal rules and to re-organize relations between noble Tuareg and vassals accordingly. When the first French